

Message Text

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC 6348

INFO AMCONSUL CAPE TOWN

AMEMBASSY KINSHASA

AMEMBASSY LUSAKA

AMEMBASSY MAPUTO

AMEMBASSY PRETORIA

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 LISBON 1634

FOR EMBASSY CAPE TOWN

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, PO

SUBJ: ANGOLA AND MOZAMBIQUE AS SEEN BY COOPERATION

MINISTER CRESPO

REF: MAPUTO 220

SUMMARY: FROM GOP STANDPOINT MINISTER FOR COOPERATION CRESPO SEES MOZAMBIQUE AS A MORE INTRACTABLE PROBLEM THAN ANGOLA. GOP NEGOTIATIONS WITH PGRM ON RIGHTS AND RESPONSIBILITIES OF 50,000 PERSON PORTUGUESE COMMUNITY ARE STALLED, WITH GPRM REFUSING TO GIVE GUARANTEES ON FUNDAMENTAL HUMAN RIGHTS. ON OTHER HAND GOP NEGOTIATIONS WITH RPA, WHICH OPENED LAST WEEK, SHOW PROMISE OF EVENTUALLY PERMITTING RETURN OF UP TO 100,000 REFUGEES. HOWEVER NEGOTIATIONS WILL BE LONG AND DIFFICULT DUE TO ENORMOUS SUMS INVOLVED; TOTAL PACKAGE AMOUNTS TO 120 MILLION CONTOS (3.6 BILLION DOLLARS).

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CRESPO CLAIMED TO HAVE CONCRETE EVIDENCE OF FRICTION BE-

TWEEN CUBANS AND INDIGENOUS POPULATION. SAID RPA NOW DESIRES CUBAN FORCE WITHDRAWAL, BUT CASTRO UNLIKELY TO ACCEDE. SAID RPA IS BEGINNING TO REALIZE IT CANNOT REBUILD ANGOLA WITHOUT WESTERN HELP, AND WILL THEREFORE BE LOOKING FOR WAYS TO OPEN A DIALOGUE WITH THE WEST ON CONCRETE MATTERS. END SUMMARY.

1. MINISTER OF COOPERATION VITOR CRESPO HAS POLICY RESPONSIBILITY FOR FORMER PORTUGUESE COLONIES. HE PRESENTLY HAS A 30 MAN NEGOTIATING TEAM IN MAPUTO (REFTEL) AND HAS OPENED NEGOTIATIONS WITH RPA. ON MARCH 12 HE GAVE ME FOLLOWING PERSONAL ASSESSMENT OF SITUATIONS IN THESE TWO COUNTRIES.

2. MOZAMBIQUE: CRESPO SAID SITUATION IN MOZAMBIQUE WAS "VERY BAD." NEGOTIATIONS BETWEEN GOP AND GPRM WERE COMPLETELY STALLED. GOP PURPOSE IN SENDING TEAM WAS NOT TO DISCUSS SPECIFICS SUCH AS NATIONALIZATIONS OR ECONOMIC INTERESTS, BUT TO OBTAIN FUNDAMENTAL GUARANTEES FOR THE 50,000 PORTUGUESE STILL IN MOZAMBIQUE. ESSENTIALLY GOP WAS ASKING FOR NO MORE THAN A GUARANTEE OF THE RIGHTS AND RESPONSIBILITIES CONTAINED IN THE UNIVERSAL DECLARATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS. YET GPRM WAS REFUSING TO COMMIT ITSELF, PRESUMABLY BECAUSE THIS WOULD IMPLY THAT A DANGER OF VIOLATION EXISTS. WITHOUT SUCH GUARANTEES CRESPO SEES MASS EXODUS OF PORTUGUESE POPULATION.

3. CRESPO SAID SITUATION COMPLICATED BY FACT THAT APPROXIMATELY 30,000 OF THE 50,000 PORTUGUESE HAD OPTED FOR MOZAMBIKAN NATIONALITY. WHILE GOP CONTINUES TO ACCEPT THESE PEOPLE AS CITIZENS, GPRM RESISTS ANY PROTECTION EFFORTS ON GROUNDS THAT THEY ARE MOZAMBIQUE CITIZENS.

4. CRESPO CHARACTERIZED MOZAMBIQUE AS AN UNSTABLE POLICE STATE. SAID HE HAD BEEN UNABLE TO CONFIRM PRESS REPORTS OF ARRIVAL OF SOVIET ARMS, BUT HE KNEW SUBSTANTIAL ARMS SHIPMENTS FROM SOMEWHERE HAD RECENTLY REACHED MOZAMBIQUE. HE THOUGHT PRESS WAS OVERPLAYING DANGER

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OF WAR WITH RHODESIA SINCE MOZAMBIQUE GUERRILLAS WERE TIRED OF FIGHTING AND NOW PREFERRED THE EASY LIFE IN THE CITIES TO WARFARE IN THE BUSH.

5. ANGOLA: CRESPO CHARACTERIZED SITUATION IN ANGOLA FROM GOP POINT OF VIEW AS "MUCH BETTER" THAN MOZAMBIQUE. HE SAID NEGOTIATIONS WHICH HAD OPENED LAST WEEK BETWEEN GOP AND RPA ON ECONOMIC MATTERS AND GUARANTEES FOR

PORTUGUESE CITIZENS ALSO INVOLVED THE POSSIBILITY OF RESETTLING UP TO 100,000 REFUGEES, "TO BE CHOSEN BY RPA." HOWEVER, HE EXPECTED NEGOTIATIONS TO BE LONG AND ARDUOUS DUE TO THE ENORMOUS AMOUNTS INVOLVED; THE TOTAL PACKAGE UNDER CONTENTION WAS VALUED AT 120 MILLION CONTOS (3.6 BILLION DOLLARS).

6. CRESPO SAID RPA LEADERSHIP WAS NOW FOCUSING ON RECONSTRUCTION, AND WAS BEGINNING TO REALIZE THAT THIS COULD ONLY BE ACCOMPLISHED WITH HELP FROM THE WEST. CRESPO'S VIEW WAS THAT WEST SHOULD BE CAREFUL NOT TO FORECLOSE RPA OPTIONS AND MAKE THEM PERMANENTLY DEPENDENT ON SOVIETS AND EASTERN EUROPE.

7. I ASKED WHETHER MPLA'S DESIRE TO BE IN THE VANGUARD OF LIBERATION OF SOUTHERN AFRICA WOULD NOT CONTINUE TO MAKE THEM DEPENDENT ON SOVIETS AND CUBANS IN ANY EVENT. I ALSO NOTED THAT MPLA WOULD HAVE TO HAVE SOME MILITARY SUPPORT TO MAINTAIN INTERNAL SECURITY. CRESPO ACKNOWLEDGED BOTH THESE POINTS BUT SAID THAT VANGUARD THEORY WOULD ULTIMATELY GIVE WAY TO ECONOMIC REALITIES AS IT HAD IN MOZAMBIQUE (HE POINTED TO THE PRESENT SATISFACTORY RELATIONS BETWEEN MOZAMBIQUE AND SOUTH AFRICA). RPA REALIZED IT HAD TO LIVE WITH ITS NEIGHBORS AND THAT TASK OF RECONSTRUCTION WOULD REQUIRE A POLICY CLOSER TO TRUE NONALIGNMENT. HE ALSO THOUGHT THAT THERE WERE FACTIONS WITHIN MPLA WHICH COULD BE EXPLOITED BY THE WEST.

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 LISBON 1634

8. CRESPO SAID THERE WAS TALK IN ANGOLA ABOUT A WESTERN BOYCOTT. MUCH OF THIS WAS AIMED AT PORTUGAL WHERE COMPANIES WERE HOLDING UP SUPPLIES UNTIL PAYMENT COULD BE ASSURED. HE THOUGHT IT MOST IMPORTANT THAT WEST AVOID IMPRESSION IT WAS ISOLATING ANGOLA AND SAID HE WAS MOST ENCOURAGED BY RECENT ACTIONS OF GULF AND BOEING. HE THOUGHT WEST SHOULD BASE ITS RELATIONS WITH RPA ON "CONCRETE ISSUES AND ACHIEVEMENTS" AND HAD INFORMATION THAT THE RPA HAD BEEN RECEPTIVE TO THE OVERTURES REPRESENTED BY THE BOEING AND GULF ACTIONS.

9. CRESPO CLAIMED TO HAVE REPORTS THAT THE CUBANS WERE CREATING ILL WILL IN ANGOLA. LIKE ANY OCCUPYING ARMY, THEY ENGAGED IN A CERTAIN AMOUNT OF RAPE AND PILLAGING. THIS HAD CAUSED FRICTION WITH LOCAL POPULATION. HE HAD INFORMATION RPA NOW WANTED TO GET RID OF CUBAN TROOPS. HOWEVER CASTRO WAS CERTAIN TO "PRESENT THE CHECK," AND WAS THEREFORE UNLIKELY TO WITHDRAW HIS TROOPS. IN THIS CONNECTION CRESPO NOTED THE RECENT
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ARRIVAL OF CUBAN FAMILIES.

10. COMMENT: CRESPO, OF COURSE, WAS ONE OF THOSE ORIGINALLY PUSHING FOR EARLY RECOGNITION OF MPLA, AND HIS COMMENTS MUST BE VIEWED IN THAT LIGHT. HE IS IN THE FAR LEFT OF THE PORTUGUESE POLITICAL SPECTRUM, BUT HE WAS ALSO A PROMINENT MEMBER OF THE "ANTUNES NINE," THAT ENGINEERED GONCALVES' OUSTER.

11. ALTHOUGH RESPONSIBLE FOR BOTH FORMER COLONIES, CRESPO IS PROBABLY MORE FAMILIAR WITH EVENTS IN MOZAMBIQUE SINCE HE WAS HIGH COMMISSIONER THERE WHEN THE COUNTRY GAINED ITS INDEPENDENCE LAST JUNE. HIS ASSESSMENT OF THE SITUATION IN ANGOLA IS PROBABLY FAIRLY CLOSE TO THAT OF MELO ANTUNES, BUT IS SOME DISTANCE FROM THAT OF PINHEIRO DE AZEVEDO. THE LATTER VIGOROUSLY CONTENTS THAT THE SOVIETS AND CUBANS HAVE BROADER DESIGNS THAN JUST ANGOLA. CRESPO SEEMS TO ADMIT THIS POSSIBILITY, BUT ARGUES THAT THE IMPERATIVES OF RECONSTRUCTION WILL TEMPER POLITICAL ADVEN-

TURISM BY RPA.
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